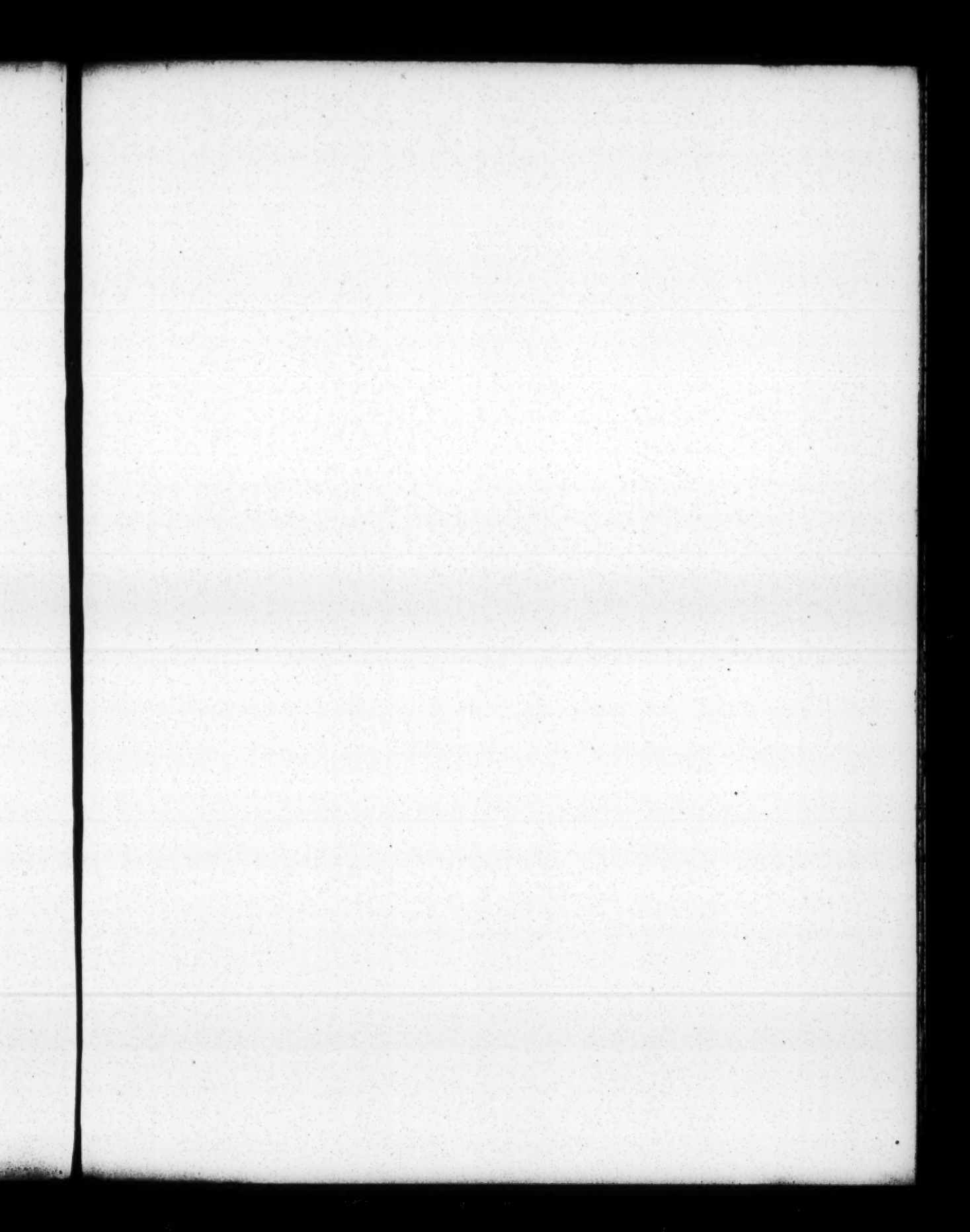


EDMUND H. GARRETT 1917 OPVS 80



M

T

C

505
17
THE
MYSTERY
OF THE
TWO IVNTOS

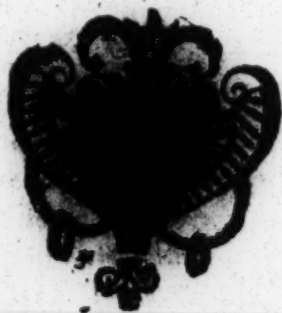
PRESBYTERIAN and INDEPENDENT.

OR,
THE SERPENT IN THE
BOSOME, UNFOLDED.

PETRON. ARBITER.

*Omnes nobiscum aut Corvi qui Lacerant,
aut Cadavera quæ lacerantur.*

By Clement Walker



Printed in the Yeare, 1647.

506

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY
FROM THE LIBRARY
OF F. L. GAY
JUNE 1, 1916

434
49

7425 New York City

exp
the
wa
Lo
Ha
exp
ple
inc
Pa
ron
den
ons
of
for
lit
the
Pa
an
me
ter
the
un
ju
no
be
va

To the un-biassed Reader.



On that are byassed with self-respects I write not to, you have your aimes; and your ends before you are aware, like shot not feared, till felt) will come upon you. To the upright in heart, though mis led in judgment I speak. Consider how by a prevaricating number of Grandees, our first Principles are altered; our Religion into Schisme, and Hypocriticall profanenes; Insomuch that the Lords Supper is now almost every where discontinued, for want of (I know not what) imaginary Utopian holinesse. The Creed Lords Prayer, and Ten Commandments, (the instruments of Faith, Hope, Charity, teaching Omnia credenda, speranda, & facienda) left out of the Directory. Thus much for Religion.

Our known Laws (being the second Principle held out to the People by the Nationall Covenant, and many Declarations) are turned into Arbitrary, emergent, and upstart Orders and Ordinances of Parliament: every day rising, and every day withering like Mush-romes. So that we are now governad Jure vago & incerto, by a leaden Lesbian rule, to which we cannot square our obedience and actions, but must stay till the Grandees that guide the Legislative power of Parliament make application of them to our actions. A great misery.

The third Principle is our Liberties. What is become of them, this little Treatise will tell you, as also of our Properties. But stay! me thinks I heare men say that the clamour and danger mutining at the Parliaments door these two last weeks, hath humbled our Grandees, and made them seek the Lord with Fasting and Prayer. I answer, let mee tell you what succeeded in the House of Commons, when a Letter and Declaration from the Army being tendred to be read, some of the Grandees answered. That if they should read those demands, they might chance to find them of that nature, as they can neither with justice deny them, nor with honour grant them, because it was not honourable for them to doe their duty upon admonition of their Army, being but their servants, and would savour of compulsion. To prevent that, they refused to take into consideration freely and of their

owne accord the Grievances which scandalized the people. They went therefore upon 3. Heads: The Self-denying Ordinance. Upon which they Voted (as they said by a Preparatory Vote onely) That all Members holding any Offices, Grants, or Places by concession of the Parliament, shall account for, and pay in the profits thereof, to the Grand Committee of Accounts. This I conceive under favour of the Grantees, who possesse those places, and contrived this Vote (to be a meer delusory Order, For who can beleieve that such self-seeking men, as all men know them to be, will execute these offices for nothing, and pay in to the use of the State their profits. Besides, it is apparent how subservient to these Grantees, their own creatures, the Committee of Accounts are.

2. They Voted, That no money hereafter should be given to any Member in compensation or recompence of his losses, untill the Publick Debts be paid. Here the Grantees were in earnest, because their owne turnes are already served; and the losse and inconvenience of this Vote falls only upon the much contemned Middle or Moderate Members.

3. They appointed a Committee to consider how to take off the Grievance arising from such Members as abusing the Priviledge of Parliament refuse to pay their debts.

Proh Superi, quantum mortalia pectora cæca
Noctis habent; Ipse sceleris molimine Tereus
Creditur esse pius; laudemq; a crimine sumit.

Let not the Grantees be offended, that I discover those sicknesses which they labour to cover; Antea morbos, necesse est, cognitos esse, quam remedia eorum. God onely can be the Æsculapius and cure them. But I am afraid they desire rather a slight suppurating, then a perfect cure; and that they pray rather to bide, then help their evils.

Da fallere, da justum, sanctumq; videri
Noctem peccatis, & fraudibus objice nubem.

If this be their condition, quos perdere vult Jupiter, hos demeritat; quos tueri vult, suscitatur. I have done my duty, even in this generation, quando dicere quod nolo miserum, quod volo & debeo periculosum. I leave the success to God, resting,
Thine,

THEODORUS VERAX.

The Myserie of the two Juntos, Presbyterian and Independent.



He Kingdome being overgrowne with *Prerogative, Corruption, and Superstition* (the fruits of a long and late peace) by a long discontinuance of Parliaments; At last by Providence his Majestie was necessitated to call a Parliament the onely Colledge of Physitians to purge the much distempered body of the Common-wealth.

In this Parliament a contest betweene the *Kings Prerogative* and the *peoples laws and liberties* begata warre. The *Divines* on both sides out of their pulpits sounding Alarime, thereto; and not only *Sermons*; but *Declarations of Parliament*, and the *Nationall Covenant*, (holding forth to the people the defence of Religion, Laws, Liberties, and properties) inflamed the people to the rage of battle, as the Elephant is enraged at the sight of Red. This warre occasioned extraordinary *Taxes and levies of money*, such as was never heard of by our *Ancollours*, and were *Irritamenta malorum*, the nurse of our *Corruptions*.

This incentive working upon the humane frailty of the speaking and leading members of the Houses, caused them first to interweave their particular interests and ambitions with the publique, and lastly to preferre them before the publique.

Wherefore the said *Leading men or Grandees* (for that is now Parliament language.) First divided themselves into *two factions or Juntos*: *Presbyterians*, and *Independents*: seeming to look only upon the Church, but (Religion having the strongest operation upon the spirit of man) involved the interests of the Common-wealth.

The Common people of the two houses following (with an implicite faith and blind obedience) the example of their leaders, divided themselves also into the said Dichotomy; which they did with more seriousnesse then their leaders, as not perceiving any thing of designe therein: But according to the diversity of their judgements, or rather fancies and confidings (for to resigne a

1.

2.

3.

Grandees.

4.

Factions.

5.

mans judgement to the opinion of another man is but a silly trust and confidence) studied the holding of their parties with earnestness, whilst the Grandees of each party in private close together for their own advancement, leaving one another to turn.

6

The *Grandees* (in all publique debates) seeme as reall in their reciprocall oppositions, as those silly ones who are in earnest, whereby they cherish the zeal of their respective parties, keepe them still divided, (*Divide et impera* is the devils rule) and to amuse them, and take them off from looking after other interests, in which (were they conjoynd) they might share with the *Grandees* themselves: and for the better contentment of such their *Confidants* as look too intently after their own gain, the *Grandees* of each *fracta* conferre something of advantage upon those that are subservient to them, as five pounds a week, or some petty imployment.

7

The seeds of these factions spread themselves into the Common wealth and Armies: as Rheume distils from the Head into all the body.

8

Monopolizing Profits and preferments,

Thus the leading men or Bell-wethers have seemingly divided themselves, and having really divided the Houses: and captivated their respective parties judgement, reaching them by an Implicite faith *Jurare in verba Magistris*, to pinne their opinions upon their sleeves; They begin to advance their Projects of Monopolizing the profits, preferments and Power of the Kingdome in themselves. To which purpose, though the leaders of each party seem to maintain a hot opposition, yet when any profit or preferment is to be reached at; it is observed that a powerfull Independent especially moves for a Presbyterian: or a leading Presbyterian for an Independent: and seldome doth one oppose or speak against another (in such cases) unless something of particular spleen or Competition come between, which canseth them to break the common Rule. By this meanes the *Grandees* of each faction seldome misse their mark, since an Independent moving for a Presbyterian, his reputation carries the business cleare with the Independent party: and the Presbyterians will not oppose a leading man of their own side. By this artifice the *Grandees* of each side share the Common wealth between them: And are now become proud, domineering *Rethobears* (even over the rest of their fellow

follow members, contrary to the liberty of Parl. which consists in an equality) that were formerly fawning ambitious *Absoloms*.

There hath been lately given away to members openly (besides innumerable and inestimable private cheates mutually connived at) at least 300000 l. in money; besides rich offices, Employments in money Committers, Sequestrations, and other advantages. And those members who have so well served themselves under colour of serving the publique, are (for the most part) old Canvasers of Factions who have sat idly and safely in the house watching their advantages to confound businesses, and shuffle the cards to make their owne game, when others that have ventured their persons abroad, labour'd in the publick work like *Israelites* under these *Egyptian* task-masters, and lost their estates, are left to sterve, untill they can find reliefe in that empty bag, called by fooles *fides publica*, by wise men *fides punica*. And are now looked upon in the House superciliously, like unwelcome guests (for it is known how malignantly and how jugglingly writs for new elections were granted and executed) and called *younger brothers*, and like younger brothers they are used: their elder brothers having slipped into the world before them, and anticipated the inheritance; They have broken first into the common field and shut the dore to prevent after commers even from gleeming after their full harvest. For the better effecting whereof they have now morgaged (in effect) all the meanes they have to raise money, unto the City. And being themselves fat and full with the publike Treasure (to expresse rather their scorn then care) They are making an Ordinance that no more money shall be given to their members: And yet to shew how carefull they are of all such as have cheated the Common-wealth under them (I will not say for them) They have taken advantage of the petition of the Army: wherein they desired Indempnity for all acts done in relation to the warre. And have passed an Ordinance of Indempnity for all such, as have acted by authority and for the service of the Parliament, wherein (under great penalties, & with an appeal at last from the Judges of the Law, to a Committee of Parliament) such as have gone beyond the authority given by Parliament, and sequestred men unjustly, and so withheld their goods under pretence thereof, and such as have levied taxes three or

9.

four times over, are quite from private actions: and the benefits of Law and Justice taken from the Oppressed, to secure country Committees, Sequestrators, and others, (not *Prærogative*, but *Legislative*) *Theeves*; contrary to *Magna Charta*, which saies, *nulli negabimus, nulli differemus justitiam, aut rectum*; We will deny, or deferre justice and right to no man. Oh prodigious acts! and of greater tyranny then any King ever durst adventure upon. What is become of our *Nationall Covenant* and the Parliament many *Declarations* for defence of Lawes and Liberty? Or have we fought our libertie into slavery? By these devises the *honest middle men* of the House (whose consciences will not let them joyn in any faction to rend the Common-wealth in sunder) are out of all possibility of repaire, and made contemptible as well by their own want, as the pride of the *Grandeers*: and in the end, their poverty will inforce them to leave the sole possession of the house to these *thriving Junto men*, who do beleaguer them therein, making them (for farther addition to their losses) pay all taxes from which the thriving men go free: so that the poorer part of the house payes tribute to the richer. Nay it is further whispered, that at last the *Junto men* will quit the Parliament Priviledge of not being sued, purposely to leave these younger Brothers to the mercy of their Creditors, and disable them to sit in their House.

10.
Commit-
tees of the
Houses.

An other ambitious ayme of those *Junto men* is their devise of referring all businesses of moment to *Committees*. For the active speaking men by mutuall agreement, naming one another of every Committee (or at least their confident Ministers) doe thereby *fore-stall and intercept* the businesses of the house, and under colour of examining and preparing matters, they report them to the house with what glosses, additions, detractions, and advantages they please; whereby the House (judging according to their report) oftentimes mis-judgeth, and if it be a business they are willing to smoothe, the Committees have infinite artificiall delays to put it off, and keep it from a hearing, or at least from reporting. By this meanes the remaining part of the House are but cyphers to value, and Suffragans to ratifie what is fore-judged by the said Committees. This usurpation of theirs is much helped by keeping the doors of their Committee roomes shut, and dispatching all affaires privately and in the dark. Whereas Justice delights

delights in the light, and ought to be as publique as the common aire, it being against its nature to be chambered up and kept from the observation of eye, and eare witnesses.

Parts of this project wee may well call the *Multiplicity of money Committees*, as Goldsmiths hall, Haberdashers hall, the Committee of the Kings revenues, Committee of the Army, &c. *Money Committees.* Where every mans profit and power is according to his cunning and conscience. Hereby they draw a generall dependency after them, for he that commaunds the money, commaunds the men: These Committee-men are so powerfull that they over-awe and over-power their fellow members, contrary to the nature of a free Parliament: wherein the equality of the members must maintaine the freedome and integrity thereof, and suppress faction.

The like may be said of such *members as* (in scorn of the *self-denying Ordinances*) *hold offices by gift or connivence* of the Parliament: either *openly* in their own name, or *Secretly* in the name of some friend. Their offices inabling them to do courtesies and discourtesies. And although there hath bin a Committee appointed to certifie all pensions, Sequestrations, offices, imployments of advantage and profits conferred by the Parliament upon any their members, in which Committee *M. Sands* holdeth the chair; yet is this meerly a formallitie to blind the eyes of the world, and foole the expectation of some losing members, who were then resolute to know who had already received satisfaction for their losses, and how farre they had outrunne their fellow-members therein. Yet this Committee is now let fall, no reports demanded of *M. Sand*: and when any is to be made; they are not unprovided of a meanes to make it fruitlesse, by putting every particular to debate: well knowing that no man will be willing to argue against the particular persons and merits of his fellow-members, and thereby heape envie upon his own head; besides the delay of a particular debate.

How frequently the *countrey Committees* act contrary to the Laws of the Land: how they trample *Magna Charta* under their feet, how boldly and avowedly they transgresse all orders and Ordinances of Parliament, and break our solemn League and Covenant, how they ordinarily turne well affected men out of
B their

11.

12.

13.

their free-holds and goods, imprison and beat their Persons without any known charge, accuser, or witness against them. How frequently they leavie one, take three or four times over, & continue their leavies after the Ordinances expire. How cruelly they raise the twentieth and fifth part upon the well affected; exercising, an Illegall arbitrary tyrannicall power over their fellow subjects farre higher then ever *Strafford* or *Canterbury* durst advise the King to. How ignorantly and unjustly they exercise a power to hear and determine (or rather to determine without hearing, or heare without understanding) private controversies of *Manu*, & *Tuum*, for debts, trespasses, nay title and possession of lands without either formality or knowledge of the Law, not having wit, manners nor breeding enough (as being chosen for the greatest part, out of the basest of the people for base ends) to satisfy men with an outside, or Complement of justice: Intomuch that nothing is now more Common, then an accusation without an Accuser, a sentence without a Judge, and a condemnation without a hearing. If any man, I say, be so deaf as not to heare the loud universal outcryng of the people; so great a stranger in our Israel as not to know this truth, let him peruse *M. Edward Kings* discovery of the arbitrarie actions of the Com. of *Lincolne* printed 1647. where he may see these things briefly Epitomised: but to historise them at large would require a volume as big as the book of *Martyrs*. These Committees are excellent sponges to suck money from the people, and to serve not onely their owne, but also the Covetous, Malicious, Ambitious ends of those that raked them out of the dunghill for that imployment, and doe defend them in their oppressions. Who is so blind as not to see that these men have their protectors? Their *Demonies* to whom they offer up part of their rapins; to whom they sacrifice.

Occulta spolia, & plures de pace Triumphos.

If there be any intencion to restore our lawes and liberties, and free us from arbitrary Government: it is fit these Committees and all associations be laid downe, having no enemy to associate against, and that the old forme of Government by Sheriffes, Justices of the Peace &c. be reestablished; and the *Militia* in each County settled as before, in Lieutenants, and Deputy-Lieutenants, or in Commissioners.

Nor

Nor is it a small artifice to raise money by so many several and confused Taxes. Whereas one or two wayes orderly used and well husbanded, would have done the work. 1. Royall Subsidie of 400000 l. 2. Pole-money. 3. the free Loans and contributions upon the publick Faith amounted to a vast incredible summe, in money, Plate, horse, Armes, &c. 4. The Irish adventure for sale of Lands the first and second time. 5. The Weekly Meale. 6. the City Loans after the rate of 50 Subsidies. 7. The Assesment for bringing in the Scots. 8. the 5. and 20 part. 9. The Weekly assesment for my L. Generalls Army. 10. The weekly (or Monthly Assesment for Sir Tho. Fairfax Army. 11. The weekly Assesment for the Scottish Army. 12. The weekly Assesment for the British Army in Ireland. 13. The Weekly Assesment for my L. of Manchester Army. 14. Fre-quarter (at least) compied at by the State, because the Souldiers having for a time subsistence that way, are the lesse craving for their pay: whereby their arrears growing stale, will at last either be frustrated by a tedious Committee of Accounts, or forgotten. In the mean time, the grand Committee of accounts discount it out of the Commanders arrears, whereby the State loses it. 15. The Kings Revenue. 16. Sequestrations and plunder by Committees, which if well answered to the State would have carried on the work: which thus I demonstrate. One half of all the goods and chattells, and at least one half of all the Lands, Rents, and Revenue of the Kingdom have been sequestred. And who can imagine that one half of the profits and goods of the Land will not maintain any Forces that can be kept and fed in England for the defence thereof? 17. Excise upon all things. This alone if well managed would maintain the Warre. The Low-countries make it almost their onely support. 18. Fortification money, &c. By these severall wayes and Taxes about 40 millions in money and money worth have been milked from the People and the Parliament as (the Pope did once) may call England, *Pannem in unum*: yet is now almost drawn dry. A vast Treasury, and so excessive, as nothing but a long peace could import: and nothing but much fraud and many follies could disburse. And we ought not to wonder if it be recovered either at

canis aquilam imperis to be alwayes making, yet never finishing an account thereof.

15.
Accounts.

And as they have artificially confounded the accompts by laying on multiplicity of Taxes; so (so for the same reason) they let the money run in so many muddy, obscure channells, through so many Committees and Officers fingers, both for collecting, receiving, issuing and paying it forth, that it is impossible to make or ballance any publick account thereof: and at the least one half thereof is known to be devoured by Committees and officers and those that for lucre protect them. By these means as they make many men partners with them in the publick spoils, so they much strengthen and increase their party, whereby *multitudo peccantium tollit panem*.

Accounts a-
gain.

If these things were not purposely done, 1. our Taxes would be fewer in number, and more in effect. 2. They would be put to run in one channell, under the fingering of fewer Harpies, and perspicuous and true Entries made of all receipts and disbursements which would be publick to common view and examination. The Exchequer way of Accompts is the exactest, ancientest, and best known way of account of England, and most free from deceit, which is almost confessed *de facto*, when (to make the Kings Revenue more obnoxious to their desires) they took it out of the exchequer way (contrary to the fundamentall Lawes of the Land; for both the higher & lower Exchequer are as ancient and fundamentall as any Court in England) and put it under a Committee which (as all other Committees do) wil render an account of their stewardship at the latter day. In the mean time divers of that Committee buy in old sleeping Penfions which they pay themselves from the first of their arrears: yet other men that have disbursed money out of their purses for the Kings Service, can receive no pay for any money laid forth before *Michaelmas Terme*, 1643. because (forsooth) then the Committee first took charge of the Revenue. In the mean time the Kings Tenants and debtours are deprived of the benefit of the Lawes and Liberties of the Subject which before they enjoyed: all Debts and Monies being now raised by the terroure of the Pursuivants and Messengers, whose Commissions are onely to distrain and

and levy, &c. whereas formerly the Exchequer sent out legall Proceſs, and the Tenant or Debtor had liberty to plead to it in his owne defence, if he thought himſelfe wronged; but now New Lords, new Lawes,, and to countenance their doings, the Committee have gotten an addition of ſome Lords to them. 3. If there were faire play above board, ſo many Members of both Houſes would not be ambitious of the trouble and clamour that attends Task-Maſters, Publicans, and ſuch finners as ſit at the receipt of Cuſtome, being no part of the buſineſſe, for which the write ſummons, or the people chooſe or truſt them. and whereby they are diverted from the buſineſſe of the Houſe: but would leave that imployment to other men, who not having the character and priviledge of Parliament upon them, will be leſſe able to protect themſelves and their agents from giving publike accounts of their receipts and diſbursements, and from putting affronts & delays upon the Committee of Accompts as (it is well known) ſome of them have done. Laſtly it is ſcandalous that the ſame men ſhould be continued ſo long in their money imployments becauſe *Diuturnitas & ſolitudo corrumpunt Imperia*; and by long continuance and experience they grow ſo hardened, ſo cunning in their way, and ſo backward with dependencies, that it is almoſt impoſſible to trace them. And although (when we look upon the many perſons imployed) we cannot ſay there is *ſolitudo perſonarum*; yet when we conſider that by a long partnership in their imployments they are allyed together in one common intereſt; they are to be eſteemed but as one man, for a Corporation of men is but many men joyned together as one man, and with one mind purſuing one and the ſame end or intereſt.

And though we have a generall Committee of Accompts, yet they were nominated by thoſe Members that ought to give Accompts: and it muſt needs be ſuſpicious for an Accomptant to chooſe thoſe perſons before whom he ſhall accompt. And we ſee (after ſo long a time of their ſitting) no fruit thereof. Whereas the people did hope, that after ſo much money ſpent, and ſuch great debts and arrears left to pay, (whereby they are threatned with continuance of their Taxes) That a full and exact generall accompt of all Receipts and Diſbursements would have been published

lished in Print for their satisfaction, as is usually done in the Low Countries, and as was once done by this Parliament, Anno 1642. by a Declaration of the accounts of the Kingdome.

17.
Wants of the
Parl. and
how occasio-
ned.

By these exorbitant courses, though they have drayned 40. Millions from the people, yet (as *Philip of Macedon* was said to be *Inter quotidianas rapinas semper inops*) they are faine to such ridiculous want and beggerie, that they have lately payned almost all the security they have for 200000. l. to disband the Armie, and enter upon the Irish employment. They have slit Goldsmiths Hall in sunder, and given one side thereof to the Citie, and kept the other halfe thereof to themselves, and that already charged with 200000. l. at least. So that if any sudden occasion happen, they have put their purse into the hands of the uncircumcised Jews of the City, and cannot raise one peny but by new taxes upon the people. It was worth observing to see how officiously some of the old Stagers took leave of the Publique purse, before it came into Hucksters hands. Alderman *Pennington* had a debt of 3000. l. he owed to Sir *John Pennington* forgiven him, (he never asked forgiveness of his sins so heartily) and 3000. l. more given him out of Goldsmiths Hall in course. The reason of this bounty was forked or two-fold:

1. Because he had got enough before.
2. To comfort his heart, for being left out of the City Militia. But the most observable thing was, to see this old Parliament like a young Prodigall, take up money upon difficult termes, and intangle all they had for a security.

1. They gave way to the City to hedge in an old debt, being a loane of money after the rate of Subsidyes: and other old debts.

2. Whereas 200000. l. only was the summe to be borrowed; the City injoynd them to take up 230000. l. whereof the the odde 30000. l. to be bestowed for reliefe of decayed occupiers of the City: So, that (upon the matter) the Parliament payes 30000. l. Broakage.

3. That the City may not trust the greatest unthrifts of Christendome, with laying out their owne money; they put upon them two Treasurers of the City to retaine, and disburse it for the service

vice

vice for which it was borrowed. So ye see they have now neither credit, money, nor a purse to put it in.

So that the *modest Members* who have beene more forward to helpe their Country then themselves, are left in the lurch for their losses, and exposed to the laughter of their elder brothers, the old *Junto* men, and factious leaders of the house; all being now mortgaged to the *Lombards* of the City. The *thriving Members* hope their younger brothers will continue as modest, as they have beene, and digest all with patience. But others (and those neither fools nor knaves) hope all the *modest and middle men* of the houses (such as are engaged in no faction) will be provoked hereby to draw into a third party or *Junto* to moderate the excesses of the other two, when any thing prejudicial to the Common-wealth is agitated: and to call the old *Junto* men those land Pyrates to account, making them cast up what they have swallowed, and bring it to a common *dividend*. Nor let them be discouraged with the supposed difficulty hereof, since 20. or 30. men holding together, & observing the crosse debates, and different sway of each party, may easily make themselves moderators of their differences, & turn the scales for the best advantage of the common, which way they please to cast in their votes, since it is very rare to have any question carried by more then eight or tenne voyces.

Most of these *Grandeas* have for *their retreat*, houses in the Low Countreyes richly furnished with sequestred Plate, Linnen and Stuffs: and great store of money in bank for their shelter, against such stormes as their Rapine, Tyrannie and Ignorance may happily raise here amongst us. In those their retirements, these Authors of our miseries will enjoy their sinnes, and our spoiles in security, attending an opportunity to purchase their peace at last, and betray our Safeties and Liberties to the enraged Prince and People. This is called robbing the *Aegyptians*. And truly these ambitious state-Mountebanks have brought us into a darknesse, worse then *Aegyptian*. The text saith, the *Aegyptians* rose not from their places in three dayes: They yet knew where they were: which is more then we doe, every man being out of his place and rank. The Servant in place of his Master, the Begger in place of the King, the Foole in place of the Councillour, the Theise in

18.

Modest and middle members.

19.

Grandeas provision to save themselves.

in place of the Judge, the Cheater in place of the Treasurer, the Clowne in place of the Gentleman; none but God alone can play *Dadalus* part, and give us a Clue to lead us out of this labyrinth, into which these unpolitique *Hocas Pocasses* have brought us: These unskilfull workmen that have built up Babel, and pulled downe Sion. Others are said to prepare Forraigne Plantations for Retreat; To people which, children are ravished from their parents armes, and Shipped away; an abomination not knowne in England before, and therefore no competent Law made against it; no more then in ancient Rome against Parricides.

20. By what hath been already said, you see what the *severall*, and *Grandees* what the *conjoynd interests* of these *two Juntos* or *Factions* *Presbyterians* and *Independent* are. Let us now consider where *their intrests and severall strength* lyes. The *Independent* groundeth his strength upon *designes and strengths*. The *Army*, which if he can keepe up, he hopes to give the Law to all; and to produce that great Chymæra, *Liberty of Conscience*: not considering that the confusion and licentiousnesse of such a liberty will destroy it selfe, *Libertas Libertate perit*. The *Presbyterians* have three *pillars* to support them. 1. *The City* is their chiefe foundation, with which they keepe a strict correspondencie, and dayly communication of Councells. Upon this consideration they have lately put the Parliament Purse into the Cities Pocket as aforesaid; settled and enlarged the City Militia. Whereas all the Countrys of England (being more obnoxious to injuries then the Citie) suffer much for want of setting their Militia; the Parliament not trusting them with armes, so much as for their owne defence: An evident signe, there is a farther designe then disbanding this Army. And because the City Militia, can only keepe in awe the adjacent South and East Counties of the Kingdome; therefore to suppress the remoter parts, and inforce them to obedience, they keepe up some *in-land Garrisons*, and have *Generall Poyuz. supernumerarie forces* for the North. And in *the West* (under colour of sending men for Ireland) they keepe upon free quarter and pay of the country *many supernumerarie Regiments* and Troops most Cavaliers; at least five times as many as they really intend to transport. These are alwayes going, but never gone: Like Saint George, alwayes in his saddle, never on his way.

way. Something ever is and shall be wanting untill Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* Army be disbanded; and then (it is thought) the disguise will fall off; and these supernumeraries shall appeare a new modelled Army under Presbyterian Commanders, you may be sure: and such whose consciences shall not befoole their wits where any matter of gaine appeareth. If this be not their ayme, Why did they not disband these lewd Supernumeraries before last winter, since they might have raised as many men the spring following for halfe the charge their very free quarters cost? And most of these swear they will not goe for Ireland, vowing they will cut the throats of the Round-heads.

The Countrey is amazed, fearing these Cavaliers are kept on free-quarter by a Cavalierish party for some Cavalierish Designe. Secondly, why did they not rather divide Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* Army into two parts, one to goe for *Ireland*, the other to stay in *England*; being already modelled, excellently disciplined, and having the visible marks of Gods favour upon their actions? But to take a few for *Ireland*, a few for *England*, and leave a Coare in the middle to be plucked forth and disbanded, was the way to discontent them, and put them into mutiny: and thereby necessitate the Parliament to disband them all, and give an opportunitie to them that seek it, to new modell another army out of the aforesaid Supernumeraries, more plyable to the desires of the Presbyterian *Unito*: Adde hereunto the causelesse exasperating Speeches and aspersions cast upon most of the army purposely, as moderate men think, to discontent them. Thirdly, If they have no intent to keep up an Army upon the people, why have they continued the military charge for another yeare; and inlarge it from 52000 l. to 60000 l. a moneth?

Thus the City, Inland Garrisons, and Supernumerarie forces new modelled are like to prove the three stringed whips wherewith the Presbyterian Phaetons will drive their triumphant Chariot if they prevaile; To which may be added the Presbyters themselves, who by over-awing mens Consciencies with their Doctrine, will subdue and worke mens mindes like wax to receive any impression of bondage that tyranny and oppression can set upon them, as they do in Scotland: The Clergy in all times and places have ever

held

21.
Presbyters

held with the mighty: as the Jacco hunts still with the Lion to partake of his prey.

23.
*Queries up-
on the pre-
mises.*

The premises considered, I shall propound these ensuing *Qua-*
ries to those that are of better Judgement then my selfe.

1. *Quere*, Why the Title and punishment of Malignants is translated from the Cavaliers, who fought for Regall Tyranny against the Parl. and laid upon those that fought against Regall Tyranny for the Parliament? Is it not because those Cavaliers that have fought for one Tyrannie, will not be scrupulous to fight for another? and such well affected as have opposed Tyranny in one kinde, will not admit of it in another? Why is it now accounted a note of malignity and disaffection to endeavour the putting down of Arbitrary Government, and re-establishing our lawes, liberties and properties; whereto the Parliament by their many Declarations and their Nationall Covenant are bound? Lay this to heart and consider whether they have not changed these their first principles, and consequently whether they are not desirous to change their old friends who resolutely adhere to the said principles.

2. If the King grant the Propositions; or if he deny them, and the predominant *Juncto* (for both *Juncto's* joyned in one (for this is probable) to drive on one common interest) establish the military and civill power without him, according to their desires, and in order to their aymes. *Quere* whether the said leading men settled in their postures with their confident Guards about them, may not draw after them so many of their party, as upon an implicate faith will follow them, and lick up the crums of the publicke spoyle under their Tables: expelling or disabling (as aforesaid) the dis-ingaged members, and by this policy make themselves perpetuall Dictators, incorporating and ingrossing to themselves both the Consultive, Directive and Ministeriall power of the Kingdome in all causes Civil and Military, setting up an *Oligarchy* or popular Tyranny in stead of a Regall: As the thirty Tyrants of *Athens* did. In order whereto they already declare, 1. That an Ordinance of Parliament without the Kings Royall assent is equall to an Act of Parliament. 2. That an Ordinance is above a Law by vertue of their Legislative power: upon which presuming in their Ordinance of Indempnity they have granted an Appeal from the Judges of the Law to a Committee of Parliament. See the Ordinance *May 21. 1647.* 3. That they are the Irrevocable

vocable Trustees of the peoples lawes, liberties and properties, without account: with other *principles preparative to Tyranny.*

3. *Quere*, Why Arbitrary and Barbarous Government by Committees and other Illegall proceedings (which in time of war were used upon Reall or pretended necessitie, & were then only excusable, because *necessitas tollit Legem*) are still continued upon us now in time of peace, no enemies troubling our quiet, and without any further pretence of necessitie, Contrary to their Nationall Covenant, and all their Declarations? Is it not, to inure the People to servitude, and ever use their patience?

4. *Quere*, Whether the Prodigious oppressions of Committees, Sequestrators, &c. and of free Quarter be not purposely countenanced to necessitate the people to rise in tumults, that thence occasion may be taken to keepe in-land Garrisons and Armies?

5. *Quere*, Whether our lawes, liberties, and properties are not now as lyable to an Invasion from the *Legis-lative power*, as formerly, from the *Prerogative*? Considering that those who like ambitious *Absolom* courted and wooed the people in the beginning of troubles, now like haughtie *Rehoboams*, care not though the people complaine: Their little finger is heavier then the loynes of the King, the controversie betweene the two *Juncto's* being no more, then whose slaves wee shall be.

If the *middle and dis-ingaged men* in the House do not speedily unite themselves into a party or *Juncto*, as the Factionous have done, and communicate their counsels: they will be *arena sine calce*, loose sand dissipated by every breath: and neither serviceable for themselves nor their Countrey. Whereas if they unite, twentie or thirty may become Moderators and Umpeers between both parties; (as hath beene already said) Let the moderate men but consider how sad and dishonourable a thing it is to see nothing almost of great and publique concernment come into the House, but what hath bin *before hand contrived, debated, and digested* in one or both of the two *Juncto's* at their *private meetings*: and put into so resolved and prejudicate a way and method of dispatch, that every man is appointed his part or Cue before-hand: One man to move it, and set it on foot, another to second him: One man to speake to one part of the argument, another to another part: another to keepe himselfe to the last for a reserve, and speake to the question, which he is provided to qualifie with a distinction, or vary it,

23.
Middle and Moderate members againe.

it, if he find it difficult to passe. Thus all publique busineses are measured by private respects; whereby it appears, that as *frequent Parl. are good physick*: so continuall Parl. are *bad food*; & the people may complain, that, *qui medice vivit, misere vivit*. Parliaments are *Bona peritura*; they cannot keepe long without Corruption. Their perpetuities emboldens the members, by taking from them all feare of being called to account: Especially if they get their sonnes into the House as well as themselves (as many have done this Parliament: and more endeavour to do) whereby they have an estate in their places for two or three lives: Moreover by long sitting they become so familiar with one anothers persons and designs, as to serve one anothers turnes, to joyn interest, and to draw into Factions, *Hodie mihi, cras tibi*. If you and your partie will helpe me to day, I and my friend will helpe you to morrow.

24.
Conclusion
with some
complaints.

Miserima Resp. ubi majestas Imperii, & salus populi discordibus consistantur studiis. What shall we say?

En quo discordia tetra---perduxit miseros?

Shall we complaine to God? God hath a controversie with us. Of whom shall we complaine? of our selves? we must first reforme our selves: we that take upon us to reforme Church and Common-wealth. Shall we complaine of our sinnes? aske the grace of repentance first; and so aske that we may obtaine. Shall we complaine of our punishments? let us first repent, and amend our sins that caused them. Let us first pluck off the maske of hypocrisie, God will see through such a fantastick garment of Fig-leaves. Let us no longer make Religion a stalking-horse; God who is all Wisdome, and all Truth, will not be deceived. If we talke like Christians, and live like Turks, Christ will not owne us. To fast for a day, and hang our heads like bulrushes, will not reconcile us. We must fast from publique spoiles, rapines and oppression, and not drink the teares of the poore and needy. Shall we complaine with the Prophet, That our Princes are become Theeves? that was heretofore our complaint, now we must invert it, and cry, That our Theeves (meane and base people) are become Princes. We are sick, very sick, intemperately sick; and God hath given us a Physician in his wrath, a Leper as white as snow,

know, fitter to infect then cure us. What Physick doth hee prescribe? Poyson. What dyet? Stones instead of bread, Scorpions instead of fishes, hard fare for them that formerly fed so daintily. Before I conclude, let me give you the pedigree of our Miseries, and of their Remedies. A long peace begat Plenty, Plenty begat Pride, and her sister Riot; Pride begot Ambition, Ambition begot Faction, Faction begot Civill War: And (if our evils be not incurable, if we be not false *in id temporis quo nec vitia nostra, nec eorum remedia ferre possumus*) our War will beget Poverty, Poverty Humility, Humility Peace againe, *Sic rerum revertentibus vicibus annulus vertitur Politicus*. The declining spoake of the Wheele will rise againe. But we are not yet sufficiently Humbled; we have not repented with *Nineveh*. We weare Silkes and Velvets instead of sack-cloth and ashes (even the meanest upstart hath his thefts writ upon his back by his Taylor in proud Characters of Gold-lace) we have not watered our Couch with our Teares, but with adulterous sweat. Look to it therefore ye State *Incubi*, that by an incestuous copulation have begot plenty upon Warre, and filled your houses with the spoyle and plunder of your deare Countrey; an inundation of bloud, and of the tears of the oppressed will wash away the foundation of your houses: And peace will be farre from you in this world, but especially that peace which the world cannot give: And because *Salamander*-like you delight in the fire of contention; an unquenchable fire will be your lot hereafter. And though you escape all accounts here, yet upon the great day of account when you shall receive your sentence of condemnation, those your children for whose preferment you sell your soules, your God for gold, shall not shew so much thankfulness or pittie towards you, as to say, alas our father! But your hearts are hardned with *Pharaoh*, I leave you therefore to *Pharaoh's* destiny, to be drowned in your owne Red Sea, as he was in his.

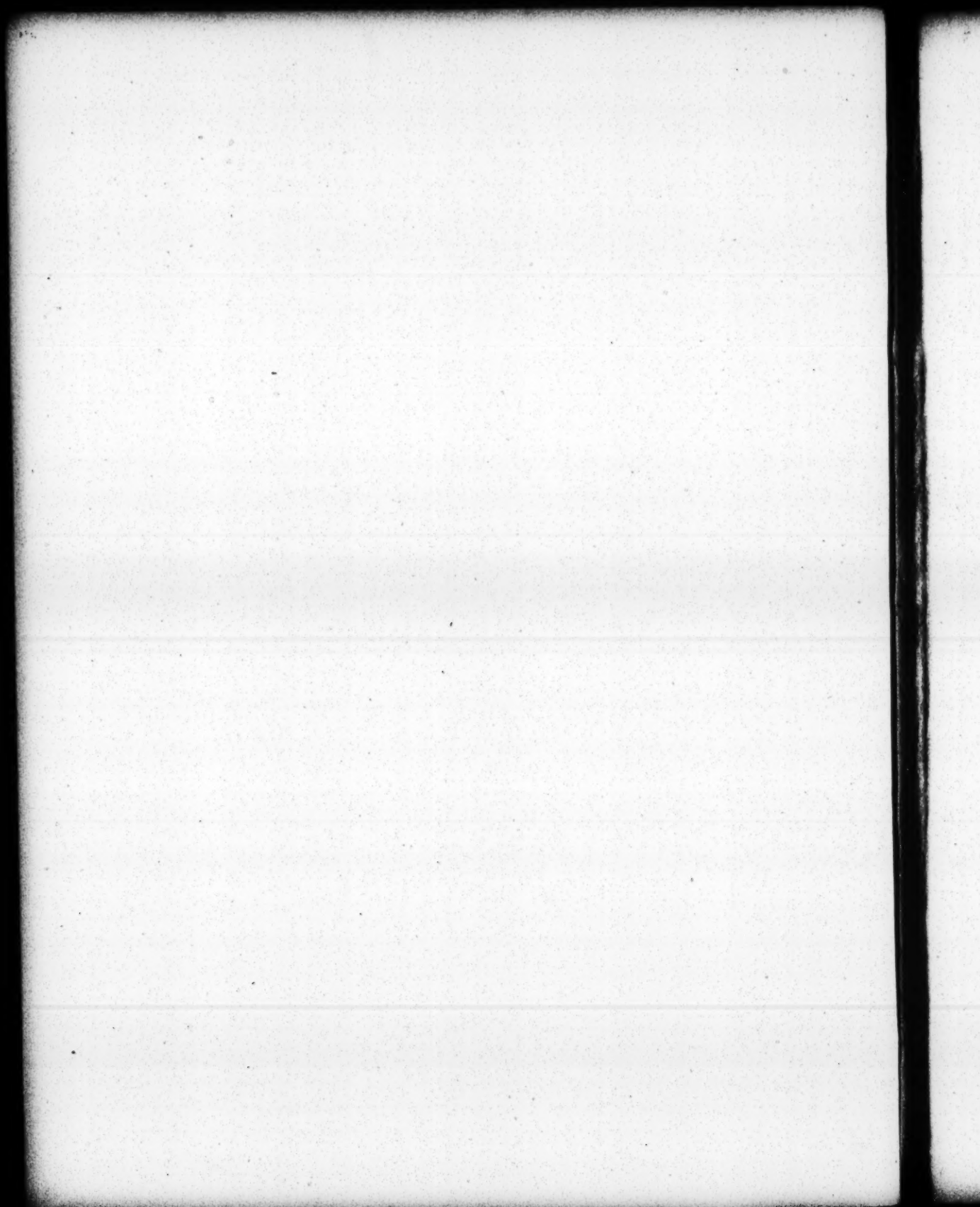
Thus farre I adventured to vindicate our Religion, Lawes, and Liberties with my pen; in discharge of my Conscience, and pursuance of our Nationall Covenant which obligeth us to defend them against whosoever to our power; neither knowing nor caring whether in so wicked an age (wherein vice is honoured, and

^{25.}
Resolution
and scope of
the Author.

vertue contemned) I may be thought worthy of punishment for being more righteous then my superiors. I know an honest man is wondred at like a monster, and the innocency of his life and conversation suspected as a Libell against the State, yet if I perish I perish; & *pereundum in licitis*. Nor am I lesse provided of a safe retreat then our Grandees. My grave is open for me, and one foot in it already. *Contempsit omnes ille qui mortem prius*. He that contemnes death, scornes both Hope and Feare; which are the onely affections that make Knaves, Fooles and Cowards of all the world. The world is a goodly Theater, we the Actors, God is both Poet and chiefe spectator. We must not choose our owne parts, that is at Gods appointment. One man he appoints to play the King, another the Begger, one a Comick, another a Tragick part: Whatsoever part God hath appointed for me in this remainder of my life, I will have a care to personate it ingenuously and aptly: Not doubting but my *Exit* shall be accompanied with an applause into my tyring Roome, my Tomb; nor will I refuse the meanest part that may draw a plaudit from so excellent a spectator, but will prepare my selfe for the worst of evils, in this worst of times; and pray to God to reforme our Reformers. *Amen.*

T H E E N D.

or
n
d
th
fe
ne
de
re
ds
rs,
ur
nts
r a
in
in-
ac-
b;
om
orft
me



•2063.W1512.647m

THE HOUGHTON LIBRARY

1 June 1916